THE JEWISH QUESTION IN POLAND.

BY

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POLISH JEWRY.

CLAIM TO RACIAL REPRESENTATION.

THE SCHEME EXPLAINED.

(By ISRAEL COHEN.)

The Council of the Peace Conference has been engaged for the last few months, among other tasks, in devising conditions to assure the development of a happy and prosperous Poland.

The most serious internal Polish problem is that of the Jews, who, since the proclamation of the independence of Poland, have been the victims of pogroms and other outrages in various parts of Congress Poland and Galicia. Such persecution, committed by those who have just been liberated themselves from a century-old oppression, has naturally met with general condemnation, which, it is hoped, will produce its effect.

But a continuance of protests can hardly serve as an effective means of improving the position of the Jews ; a more constructive policy must be devised and applied, especially as the healing power of Zionism cannot at once affect them in large numbers. The Polish Government readily grasped this elementary truth, and the Polish Parliament has appointed a special commission of 19 members, including four Jews, to study the Jewish question and make recommendations. There are also Jewish delegations now in Paris from England and America, and from Poland itself, who are working for a satisfactory solution.

It might be urged that since the Jews in Poland have been granted civil equality, there can no longer be a Jewish question in that country. But the events of the past few months have shown that this equality, which does not include immunity from racial hostility, scarcely suffices. No one who visits Poland to-day fails to observe the antagonism to the Jews that prevails in all classes of society and in nearly all sections of the Press. This condition is in striking contrast with the friendly treatment accorded to the Jews in Poland when it was formerly an independent State, and when, for nearly 200 years, they enjoyed a form of national autonomy, and were able to foster all phases of their traditional life. Their gratitude to Poland was manifested by their participation in the Kosciuszko insurrection in 1794, when they flocked to the banner of the Jewish hero, Berek Josselowicz, and also in the revolt of 1863, when much Jewish blood was likewise shed on the battlefield.

Relations between Jews and Poles continued tolerable until about 20 years ago, when an active anti-Semitic policy was initiated and propagated by the political leaders, notably M. Roman Dmowski, who preached the gospel of economic boycott. This change of attitude was based upon the erroneous idea that the Jews stood in the way of the acquisition of Polish independence, because they had not become assimilated to the Polish nation. It was the liberal-

ism of independent Poland that had helped the Jews to preserve their traditional life, and this was afterwards regarded by oppressed Poland as an obstacle to the regaining of her freedom. That the politicians were utterly mistaken in their reading of their country's destiny has been amply proved by the events of the last few months. Poland has regained her independence as a result of the triumph of the Allies, who championed the cause of the small nations, and enunciated the principle of national self-determination. Therefore, it behoves her to allow a weaker people in her midst to enjoy, at least in a small measure, the blessing that has been conferred by greater Powers upon herself. The independent Poland of the 20th century should not follow in the footsteps of her Russian or Prussian oppressors, but revert to her own liberal traditions of previous centuries.

THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT.

When I discussed the question recently in Warsaw with Professor Grabski, one of the intellectual leaders of the National Democratic Party, he frankly admitted that he had formerly been an anti-Semite, and declared that now he was no longer one. He said that he had been opposed to all elements which, in his opinion, weakened the Polish struggle for independence; but that now that the Poles were masters in their own country, they could be hospitable and wished everybody in their midst to feel comfortable. This sentiment is echoed most sincerely by the Jews, who long to feel comfortable in their native country, whilst fully prepared to share in all the tasks of her reconstruction. But they will not feel comfortable as long as the present policy of anti-Semitism prevails and they are denied the right to cultivate their own traditional life.

Apart from attacks upon persons and property I came across numerous instances of injustice towards Jews during my recent tour of investigation in that country. I found that the economic boycott of the Jews was maintained with unabated vigour ; that Poles who sold houses or property to Jews were branded as traitors ; that Jews were excluded, as a rule, from Government service ; that at Javorzno all the nine Jewish members of the town council were compelled to resign ; that at Tarnow the speaking of Yiddish was forbidden ; that at Cracow University a *numerus clausus* for the Jews was in force in the medical faculty ; that at Oswiecim the Jews had to pay 65,000 crowns a month for the upkeep of a militia for their protection ; and that in Warsaw, although the Jews formed nearly 40 per cent. of the population and paid over 50 per cent. of the communal taxation, they received practically nothing of this revenue for the maintenance of their own public institutions.

As long as such cases of manifest injustice continue, there is bound to be a state of discontent, and the development of Poland as a liberal State will be jeopardized. M. Paderewski, whose sojourn in the United States has shown him how a country benefits when she treats her Jewish citizens justly and liberally, assured me that he would do everything in his power to bring about an improvement in the Jewish situation.

"A SEPARATE NATIONALITY."

There are three million Jews in the United States, and there are also three million in Poland, but while in the former country they constitute only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population, in the latter they form not less than 15 per cent. Therein lies one of the causes of the difference between the position of the Jews in the two countries ; the other causes must be sought in the difference of historical development, political and economic conditions, and social atmosphere. The keynote to the Jewish question in Poland is the claim to the rights of a national minority. The reply of the Government is that when America grants her Jews the rights of a national minority Poland will do likewise. The answer to this is that if Poland were like America the Jews would not ask for national rights ; it is because Poland is utterly different that such rights are demanded.

It is because the Jews in Poland have throughout their history been treated in fact as members of a different nationality that they now find it essential for their peaceful self-preservation to demand their political and legal recognition as a separate nationality. They live in compact masses in many towns, in which they form half and even three-fourths of the population ; they have preserved their own culture and institutions intact through hundreds of years ; they have fostered their own language, created their own folk-lore, developed their own literature, and maintained their own Press ; they have conserved many rites, customs, and observances, and even a distinct mode of dress, that distinguish them from the Jews of other countries ; they have upheld traditional Judaism in its most orthodox and uncompromising form, and are marked off from their neighbours by racial and

physical characteristics, and by intellectual and spiritual outlook in a far greater degree than is the case with Jews in any other country.

The demand of the Jews in Poland is not for an *imperium in imperio,* as it is so often designated for the purpose of condemning it. It is not a demand for separation from the body-politic of the Polish State, or for the enjoyment of political self-government. The Jews are all willing to cooperate to the fullest extent, materially and morally, in the upbuilding of the new Republic ; they are prepared to bear all the burdens and discharge all the duties of citizenship. But they also wish to have the right of managing their own affairs as members of the Jewish nationality, without in any way conflicting with their duties towards the State and without in any way infringing the interests of the State. They wish to live and act as Polish citizens of Jewish race, and they are asking for just the same rights that the Poles are demanding for themselves in the Ukraine.

A member of an Allied Mission in Poland with whom I discussed the question observed that as the Jews had the right to vote and to sit in Parliament, they would be able, as in Western Constitutional countries, to exercise Parliamentary pressure in order to secure the fulfilment of their demands. The recent elections have shown the futility of this hope. The constituencies were carved out in such a manner that by the amalgamation of Jewish urban districts with wide Polish rural districts, the Jewish majority of the towns was often converted into an electoral minority. Thus Oswiecim, with its 65 per cent. Jews, Chrzanow with 60 per cent., Biala with 40 per cent., Javorzno, and a fifth town were combined with 156 hamlets and villages, so as effectually to swamp the Jewish vote. Besides, in some districts Jews were not allowed to vote unless they signed a declaration that they regarded themselves as members of the Polish nationality, and in others the speaking of Yiddish was forbidden at meetings.

The return of nine Jewish members (one of whom died and has not yet been replaced) affords a very feeble weapon for securing Jewish rights in a Parliament of 400, who are all, irrespective of party, united in opposition to Jewish demands. The Polish Government must therefore make the grant of Jewish national rights its own concern. It will then effect not only the conciliation of the Jewish people, but also the consolidation of the Polish State.

WHAT THE JEWS WANT.

What are these Jewish national rights ? They comprise, in the first place, the right of self-government in all affairs of religion, education, culture, charitable organization, public health, and economic betterment. The right of the Jews to administer their own religious affairs is such a cardinal principle in Western countries that it may safely be accepted without discussion. The Jews wish to administer their own schools, because the Polish schools are conducted in a denominational spirit, animated by Catholic teaching, and impregnated by anti-Semitism. The Jews wish to cultivate their national tongue, Hebrew, and they must also reckon with the fact that the language of the masses is Yiddish ; but they are quite willing and determined to teach the Polish language, and also Polish history and geography, to the same extent that these subjects are taught in the other schools.

They also wish, as a community, to have the right of using Hebrew and Yiddish for the purposes of literature, the Press, the theatre, and public meetings, though every individual can use Polish to his heart's content. They desire to have the unfettered control of their own boards of guardians and other eleemosynary institutions, and likewise of their own hospitals and dispensaries, where Jewish patients will be assured of sympathetic treatment and of regard for their religious observances and ritual requirements. They also wish to have the right of organizing measures of economic betterment, such as cooperative societies, sick insurance, and training schools in arts and crafts that will tend to divert the young Jewish generation from shopkeeping to industries and agriculture.

Furthermore, they claim their quota from the communal and State revenue, for the upkeep of their communal and national institutions, such as schools and hospitals. Thus, it is manifestly unjust that the 300,000 Jews in Warsaw, which has a total population of 800,000, should contribute more than half the communal revenue and yet receive practically nothing in return for their own institutions. Moreover, the Jews demand proportional representation in Parliament, so that their 15 per cent. of the population shall elect a similar percentage of the deputies ; and they also claim proportional representation in the Government and municipal services (it being understood that Jewish candidates shall possess the requisite technical quali-

fications), so that they shall be sure of equal treatment on the part of executive officials.

In order to exercise these rights of a race minority, it is proposed that the Jews in Poland should be organized upon a new basis. The Jews of each town should form an organized community for all the aforesaid purposes, and not for religious affairs only, and the community should be governed by a council elected upon a democratic basis. The Communal Councils should be under the control of a Central Council, which should likewise be elected upon a democratic basis. This Central Council should act as the supreme representative body of Polish Jewry. It should administer the Jewish institutions serving the needs of the whole country (such as teachers' seminaries), represent the Jews to outside authorities, express its views on all questions connected with Jewish life and activity, publish regulations and ordinances on the basis of its constitution, distribute the amount due to the Jewish community from the State revenue, and draft new laws within the limits of its competence which should not receive the force of law until after confirmation by Parliament and the Government.

A STATE SECRETARY.

It should also be one of the functions of the Central Council to supervise and regulate the emigration of Jews to Palestine. The official link between the Jewish people and the Government should be a State Secretary of Jewish Affairs, who, upon nomination of the Central Council, should be confirmed by the President of the State, and who should likewise be the head of the administration of the Central Council. It is not suggested that this State Secretary should be a member of the Cabinet, only that he should take part in those of its meetings in which Jewish affairs are discussed.

Such, in broad outline, is the scheme of organization of the Jews in Poland as a race minority, which has been adopted by representative conferences of Jews in Congress Poland and Galicia. It will be seen that it is not the dreadful bogy that it has generally been made out. It is simply a constitutional safeguard for the enjoyment of civil equality. It does not encroach by a hair's breadth upon the prerogatives of the State ; on the contrary, it forms a system of devolution which should be welcome to the legislators and administrators of Poland, who must find their hands heavily laden with other problems. It would enable the Polish Government to deal directly with the responsible heads of the organized Jewish community, and thus assure itself not only of its good will, but of its collective intelligence, industry, and resources in the manifold tasks of reconstruction. If it be urged that such a scheme would tend to keep Poles and Jews apart, let it be pointed out that no scheme could keep them apart so effectually as the omnipresent spirit of anti-Semitism. And if it be objected that the organization of the Jews as a national minority might reduce the points of contact with the Poles, it will also reduce the possibilities of friction, and both nationalities will then be able to cooperate more efficiently in the upbuilding of the new Republic.

The Polish National Committee at Posen has already recognized the Jewish People's Council of that city. In the Ukraine the recognition of the Jews as a national minority, with a Jewish Minister, is an established fact. It is only by the adoption of some such scheme, not by assimilation or emigration, that the Jewish question in Poland can be solved. Assimilation, at the best, is the work of time and good relations ; and as for emigration, Palestine, the only land in question, is hardly likely during the next few years to be able to receive Jewish settlers in such numbers or at such a rate as to produce any early relief in the situation.

Leading Article, Thursday, May 22, 1919.

The Jews in Poland.

MR. ISRAEL COHEN, who has returned from a visit to Poland in the course of which he saw many things that were inexpressibly painful to him as a Jew, seems in the article which we print in another column to be advocating a scheme of limited autonomy for the Jews in Poland. That the Jews have been abominably treated of late by the Poles, that they are numerically very strong—some three millions in a population of twenty millions—and even stronger in their ability and energy, that their hearty cooperation is necessary to the success of the new Polish State, that they are sufficiently grateful for past liberal treatment by the Poles to be loyal to the Polish national idea, that they have a very genuine love of the country, and that the statesmanlike men among the Poles, such as PADEREWSKI, dislike the prevailing anti-Semitism in the country and would like to get rid of it—all this will command general assent. Anti-Semitism is of comparatively recent growth in the country, and if it is bad for the Jews it is also dangerous for the State, which owes its new birth to liberal ideas and would be guilty of parricide if it refused to carry them out in its dealings with others. All this argument cannot be put too high or too strongly. Yet MR. COHEN is not wise in speaking as he does of a Jewish nationality within Poland and basing a demand for limited autonomy on that ground. The Jews, when their State is founded in Palestine, will presently be a nation. The fact that they will then be a distinct nationality should make them very careful of pressing national (as distinct from racial) claims in other countries. A Jewish State in Palestine should make it much easier to secure full liberties, civil and religious, for Jews in other countries; but these liberties will be given them not as *Uitlanders* in the country of their domicile, but as absolutely loyal subjects of that country. Perhaps MR. COHEN would agree in principle, but at some points his scheme does seem to contemplate a double nationality, and some of his phrases give a handle to the enemies of his race. In the Zionist State the Jew will be a Jew without adjective, but the Jew in England or in Poland who enjoys full citizenship will be an Englishman or a Pole of the Jewish persuasion. The same principle applies to all nationalities. Supposing, for example, that the Irish nationality were recognized by the grant of self-government to Ireland, the Irish in America would still be American citizens, and no Irishman could have both Irish and American nationality.

The recognition of this principle is quite consistent with a great deal of self-government in the religious, cultural, and economic life. No wise Pole would interfere with Jewish self-government in matters of religion, and the Jews should have the fullest liberty in the use of their language, in the management of their own schools, of their poor relief, and of their hygiene. But none of these organizations should separate those who enjoy them from the life of the State of which they are subjects. It may seem hard, but if Jews want schools of their own entirely under their own management they should pay for them themselves, and such payment would not absolve them from the duty of contributing as Polish subjects to the support of any system of national education. There are all sorts of practical compromises possible, but the general principle is clear, and the Jews in Poland would be wise to accept it. There is no being in a country and out of it at one and the same time. Subject to these considerations, there is great force in MR. COHEN'S general plea for justice to the Jews in Poland. The League of Nations, in so far as it makes itself responsible for the future of the Polish State, has also a responsibility to see that all the races of which it is composed are justly treated, and notably the Jews, whose ill-treatment would have an immediate effect on the stability of Poland. Perhaps the League might have a Resident Consul or Agent in Poland, whose special duty it would be to report on the political and social welfare of the less numerous races, and to suggest remedies of abuses. Moreover, the gerrymandering of constituencies so as to deprive the Jews of proper representation is clearly against the

terms of the implied contract by which the new Polish State is set up, and all these artificial obstacles to real union should be got rid of, perhaps, as MR. COHEN suggests, by some system of minority representation or by other means that may recommend themselves. We are clear that the Powers who are setting up Poland and may have to defend it if there is trouble thereby acquire a right and a duty to insist on justice, not only in constitutional theory but also in practice, for all minorities. But if this duty is to be carried out without friction, it will be necessary for Jews to cease using phrases which suggest that they intend to maintain themselves as a separate nationality in the heart of Poland, and, apart from their religious and cultural life, to adopt the nationality of the country in which they live.

Letter, Tuesday, May 27, 1919.

THE JEWS IN POLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—After the very sympathetic manner in which you have dealt with my article on Polish Jewry, I am rather loth to trespass further upon your space, but I feel that your observations on the question of nationality call for just a brief note. There is apparently a misconception due to the application of the political terminology of Western Europe to Eastern Europe. In Western Europe "nationality" is currently understood as synonymous with State allegiance, whereas in Central and Eastern Europe nationality means membership of a national group which is a constituent element of a State. Thus the late Austrian Empire and the late Russian Empire were each composed of several nations, and the member of each nation was a citizen of the respective Empire in which he lived. The Czech did not have two nationalities, but was an Austrian citizen of Czech nationality. Similarly, the Pole, in the days of the Tsar, was a Russian citizen of Polish nationality. It should, therefore, be easy for the Poles to understand that the Jews in their midst are Polish citizens of Jewish nationality.

There is, I venture to urge, no ground for suggesting that my scheme contemplates a double nationality, since the relationship of the Jew to the Polish State is purely one of citizenship, not of nationality, and there is absolutely nothing incompatible between membership of the Jewish nationality and the most loyal and self-sacrificing Polish citizenship. In the Ukrainian State there will be Ukrainian citizens of Polish nationality who will owe no allegiance to the neighbouring Polish State; why not in the Polish State Polish citizens of Jewish nationality who will owe no allegiance to a remote Jewish State?

Yours faithfully,

175, Piccadilly, W.1, May 23. ISRAEL COHEN.

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ON

THE POGROMS IN POLAND.

ORIGIN AND EXTENT.

(By Israel Cohen,) *Special Commissioner of the Zionist Organization.*

WARSAW, Jan. 20.

When I left London on December 6 for the purpose of investigating the pogroms in Poland I expected that the troubles would have ceased by the time of my arrival in the affected regions. Unfortunately I found that the attacks upon the Jews were being continued in various forms in different places, and the Jews were living in a chronic state of panic. My inquiry into the pogroms of November was thus encumbered by the duty of investigating the outrages of December and the excesses of January, while the task of gathering and recording information was retarded by my being called upon frequently to make representations to the Polish authorities in Cracow and Warsaw in regard to fresh cases of injustice. The acts of oppression, spoliation, and brutality under which the Jews in Poland have suffered during the last two months and a half and to a great extent still suffer are already numerous enough to fill a ponderous volume. But for the immediate enlightenment of the Western world, it is necessary to give a summary account of the violent anti-Jewish movement now raging in the new Polish State.

The hostilities against the Jews in Galicia began to manifest themselves immediately after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, while those against the Jews in Congress Poland followed very soon after. The departure or desertion of the Austrian troops anxious to return home left numerous towns without proper protection. The general state of confusion that arose was taken advantage of by peasants as well as by townsfolk, incited by anti-Semitic agitators, to make attacks upon Jewish shops and dwellings. The Polish troops, instead of defending the Jews and their property, remained either passive or participated in the plundering expeditions. The attempts of the Jews to defend themselves were frustrated by the Polish military and civil authorities. As soon as the news of threatened disturbances in neighbouring towns reached the Jews in Cracow they organized a militia numbering close upon 1,000 for the defence of their brethren. The Polish Liquidation Commission, which assumed the government of Galicia, agreed to the formation of this corps. The Jewish militia were supplied with arms, and detachments were sent to various towns, but only in very few cases, and then only for a very brief period, were they able to render any protection. For the Military Commandant in Cracow, General Roja, objected to the creation of the Jewish militia, and ordered that it should be disarmed and dissolved both in Cracow and in the provincial towns to which detachments had already been dispatched. Moreover, the local Jewish communities were not allowed to form any self-defence corps, nor were Jews admitted to the town militia, so that they were at the mercy of any armed band that chose to attack them. The utter helplessness of the Jews still continues, as was illustrated by the pogrom that lasted from January 5 to 8 at Wloclavek, and by the attack that took place on the 8th at Janow, and as is shown by the frequent assaults made upon Jews almost daily in different parts of the country.

Rioting and Looting.

During the month of November alone there were pogroms of varying dimensions and gravity in 110 different towns and townlets. In all of them shops were plundered; in very many, houses were also looted; and in several, synagogues were desecrated. In every riot Jews were brutally assaulted, often severely wounded, and in several towns they were killed. The rioters were generally peasants from neighbouring villages, reinforced by the

baser elements of the town, whilst only in a few cases did they include deserters. The looters generally brought carts to remove the spoil, and were accompanied by their wives and children, who helped them, which disposes of the Polish allegation that the pogroms were carried out simply by deserters or prisoners of war. The Polish legionaries remained either passive or else took an active part in looting and assaulting, but never defended the Jews from their attackers. The troops that marched south-eastwards against the Ukrainians were particularly active in onslaughts upon Jews, which they justified with the fictitious charge that they had been shot at by Jews. In several towns large contributions were exacted from the Jews, either as a fine for alleged disloyalty or under the pretext of supplying military protection, which was usually refused after the money was paid.

Money Demanded.

The most serious pogrom was that at Lemberg, which, by reason of its magnitude and ferocity, and also of its political significance, requires separate consideration. Of the other pogroms, the most important were those at Przemysl, Kielce, Brzesko, and Chrzanow. The riot at Przemysl was begun on November 11, immediately after the city was captured by the Poles. The excuse given was that the Jews had shot with a machine-gun at the Poles—an accusation for which not the least proof was offered. The Polish authorities disarmed and disbanded the Jewish Militia, and uniformed legionaries took active part in the sacking of shops and houses, the profanation of synagogues, and the assaulting, arresting, and robbing of Jews. The climax was reached by the demand of a contribution of three million kronen (about £120,000) from the Jews by the Commandant, Colonel Tokarzewski, who threatened that if the money was not forthcoming within three days his soldiers would get it by force. The Commandant had shot his bow too far; his outrageous demand led to his recall. At Kielce the Jews held a public meeting on November 11 to proclaim their satisfaction at the creation of an independent Poland and to demand Jewish national rights. The lying rumour was spread that anti-Polish speeches were delivered, with the result that an anti-Jewish riot was started by the Deputy Commandant of the Town Militia, in which four Jews were killed, over 250 wounded, and numerous shops were plundered. At Brzesko the Jewish self-defence corps was disarmed by the Polish Militia, houses were plundered and set on fire, many Jews were severely wounded and several killed. The same methods were employed at Chrzanow, except that no houses were set on fire. I was at Chrzanow on January 6, and still saw chalked on the walls of some houses, "Here lives a Pole," "Here lives a Catholic"—the inscriptions intended to secure immunity for the occupants.

Brutality to Women.

A diabolical originality was displayed in certain places in the brutalities that were committed. At Chyrow over 100 Jewish girls and women up to 70 years of age were driven by soldiers out of their homes, stripped of boots and stockings, and forced to tramp in the cold under military escort to a neighbouring town. On the way the commanding officer took the rifle of a different soldier in turn, threw it into the river, and compelled a girl or woman each time to fetch it out, which necessitated her wading up to the neck in ice-cold water. At Rzeszow all Jews who applied for travelling permits were stripped, robbed, and stretched on benches, to which they were tied and then flogged.

After the Poles captured Sandowa, Wischnya, legionaries, under the pretext that Jews had poured boiling water over them, not only plundered but cut off the beards of aged Jews, and put ropes round the necks of some rich Jews, whom they threatened to strangle unless they surrendered their daughters. The Jews of the little town of Ustrycki Dolne were compelled to hand over 150,000 kronen (about £6,000) to the Polish legionaries, under the threat that their houses would be blown up by armoured trains. At Wisnicz all male Jews between 12 and 72 were drawn up in the central square, and after the commander had threatened to shoot every tenth person, of whom the Rabbi was to be the first, he decided to subject them all to corporal punishment, so that for the next three hours 132 Jews were flogged on a public bench, each receiving 25 to 35 strokes. Flogging on the bare flesh, besides robbery and imprisonment, was also the fate of all Jews passing through Lapy, the station on the Polish-Lithuanian frontier. Those coming to Poland were accused of being Bolshevists, and those leaving it were charged with being spies. Hardly any Jew, man or woman, travelling through this frontier station was able to escape the persecutions of the soldiery, who converted a diseased and filthy slaughter-house into a gaol, in which at one time as many as 400 were confined, and in which many are still being tortured.

Savage Floggings.

Particular savagery was displayed by the soldiers at Komarowka, near Biala, where the persecution of the Jews began in the middle of November last. Two Jews who went from Kamarowka to the neighbouring village of Przegaliny to buy potatoes were arrested there, given 25 strokes with a rod, and had to pay one rouble (2s.) for each stroke. They had also to pay for a chain which broke beneath them. Two other Jews and a Jewish girl were arrested and taken to Przegaliny, where they were kept

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in prison nine days and beaten with a stick three times daily, the men receiving 30 blows each and the girl 15. On Saturday, November 30, the soldiers plundered all the Jewish shops whilst their owners were in the synagogue. Then, by order of their commanding officer, they arrested 32 Jews and took them to Przegaliny, where they were flogged daily on the bare flesh. On the first day they were given 100 strokes, the torture being inflicted by four soldiers, two on either side with rods, whilst a fifth soldier sat on the victim's head and a sixth on his feet. On the next day (December 1) each Jew received another 10 strokes. On the following day a Jewish girl came from Komarowka to Przegaliny to buy potatoes: she was seized by the soldiers and dragged into the same room where the other victims were, and there given 30 strokes on the naked flesh. Later in the day six soldiers, in the presence of the Jews, outraged the girl one after another. On December 3 the officer ordered another 10 strokes for each Jew, who had to say after each blow, "Thank you, sir!" Thereupon he allowed four of his prisoners to go into the town and secure a contribution of 10,000 marks (£500) for the release of them all. The money was brought, but before the officer let his victims go he had half of their beards shaved off and ordered them to receive another 10 strokes. They were released on December 4 and the girl on December 6. The truth of this barbarous episode has been vouched for by the victims, all of whose names are known.

A memorandum narrating the outrage in detail has been presented to the Polish Government.

"THE TIMES" EDITORIAL ON POLISH POGROMS.

We believe our Correspondent's account—and we much regret to have to say it—to be substantially only too true.

To reproach the Poles for these excesses might relieve feelings, but would not be helpful. The great fact to keep in mind is that these excesses are a reproach to ourselves, and particularly to the nascent League of Nations, which must be regarded as responsible for the conduct of its wards. Until more regular machinery of government is set up, it is the duty of the Powers now assembled in Paris to discipline the Poles and to prevent them from soiling the new banner of liberty which we gave to them clean.

This question of internal justice within Poland has a very obvious bearing on the problem of the external security. If the Powers help her against her external foes, they have a right to insist on justice being done at home.

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